

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EB-07 /077 W
----- 110131

R 291556Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0647

INFO CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 7396

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, KN

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON ASIA

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY. POLITICAL COUNSELOR CALLED ON IGOR ROGACHEV, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MFA'S FIRST FAR EASTERN DIVISION, ON MAY 27. DURING DISCUSSION, ROGACHEV AFFIRMED THAT NORTH KOREAN PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG WOULD NOT BE COMING TO MOSCOW ON HIS PRESENT TRIP. ROGACHEV DESCRIBED MAO AS SPEAKING INCOMPREHENSIBLY IN HIS BRIEF MEETING WITH KIM. TENG HSAIO-PING WHO ACTED AS KIM'S HOST WAS NOT KIM'S EQUIVALENT, SAID ROGACHEV, AND KOREANS WERE REPORTEDLY MIFFED AT THIS PROTOCOL SLIGHT. DESPITE TENG'S RECENT PROMINENCE, ROGACHEV INSISTED THAT HE WILL BE MERELY A TRANSITIONAL LEADER WITH LIMITED RESPONSIBILITIES. ROGACHEV SAID THAT YAO WEN-YUAN AND CHIANG CHING HAD RECENTLY BEEN NAMED TO THE POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE PRESUMABLY AT MAO'S BEHEST. ROGACHEV
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COMMENTED ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEKING AND HANOI, TOKYO AND

WASHINGTON, AND REPEATED NOW STANDARD SOVIET ASSERTION THAT THE DENOUNCEMENT IN INDOCHINA REMOVED AN AREA OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE USSR AND THEREFORE HELPED THE COURSE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

2. KOREA. ROGACHEV SAID THAT KIM IL SUNG WAS DUE TO LEAVE ROMANIA THAT DAY AND THAT HE WOULD APPARENTLY BE VISITING SOME AFRICAN AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. ROGACHEV SAID FIRMLY THAT KIM WOULD NOT BE COMING TO THE SOVIET UNION "AT THIS TIME." CONCERNING THE NORTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, ROGACHEV SAID TWICE THAT IT WAS "NOT AN OFFICIAL VISIT," BUT REFUSED TO ELABORATE FURTHER. ON THE KOREAN SITUATION GENERALLY, ROGACHEV SAID THAT KIM HAS SPOKEN OFFICIALLY IN FAVOR OF PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION AND THAT THIS IS OFFICIAL DPRK POLICY. KIM, WHO ROGACHEV SAID UNDERSTANDS SOME CHINESE, FOUND CHAIRMAN MAO INCOMPREHENSIBLE IN THEIR VERY BRIEF CONVERSATION. AFTER EACH PHRASE, ACCORDING TO ROGACHEV, THE TRANSLATORS WOULD DISCUSS WHAT MAO SAID AS IF THEY WERE WORKING OUT WHAT TO SAY. IN THIS CONSULATION, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG, MAO'S "NIECE," HAD THE LAST WORD. BESIDE MAO, WHO WAS ILL, KIM ALSO CALLED ON CHOU EN-LAI WHO WAS IN THE HOSPITAL, AND HE FAILED TO SEE CHU TEH WHO IS OLD AND APPARENTLY INACTIVE. THE PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANT FROM PEKING'S SIDE IN THE TALKS WAS TENG HSIAO-PING, WHO IS NOT CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY OR PRIME MINISTER OR HEAD OF STATE. NORTH KOREANS BELIEVE THAT FOR KIM TO BE HOSTED BY TENG WAS AN INSULT FROM PROTOCOL POINT OF VIEW, ROGACHEV SAID. WANG HUNG-WEN HAD ALSO BEEN PRESENT TWICE IN THE MEETINGS WITH KIM, HE ADDED.

3. CHINESE LEADERSHIP. COMMENTING ON TENG HSIAO-PING'S APPARENT PROMINENCE IN THE KIM VISIT AND SINCE, ROGACHEV SAID THAT TENG HAD NOT ASSUMED THE ROLE OF TOP CHINESE LEADER. TENG, HE SAID, IS ONLY A TRANSITIONAL FIGURE WHO MAY BECOME PRIME MINISTER TODAY, BUT WILL BE GONE TOMORROW. FURTHERMORE, SAID ROGACHEV, HE IS ONLY HALF AN ACTING PRIME MINISTER, AS HE IS RESPONSIBLE EXCLUSIVELY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ROGACHEV MENTIONED VICE PREMIERS LI HSIEN-NIEN AND CHI TENG-KUEI AS HAVING THE MAJOR

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ROLE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ROGACHEV ALSO MENTIONED IN THIS REGARD THE COMMISSION FOR CONTROL UNDER THE STATE COUNCIL, WHICH, HE SAID OPERATES UNDER CHOU EN-LAI AND HAS SOME MILITARY MEMBERS. THE COMMISSION, HE SAID, WAS PUT INTO OPERATION FOLLOWING THE JANUARY MEETING OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLES CONGRESS. HE ALSO SAID THAT YAO WEN-YUAN AND CHIANG CHING HAD BEEN NAMED TO THE POLITUBRO STANDING COMMITTEE ON MAO'S ORDERS JUST BEFORE MAY 1.

REVIEWING THE STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP AFTER THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS, ROGACHEV SAID TENG HSIAO-PING HAD REPLACED LI TEH-SHENG, AND THAT YAO HAD REPLACED TUNG PI-WU. BY ADDING BOTH YAO AND CHIANG TO THE TEN-MEMBER STANDING COMMITTEE, THE LEFTISTS HAD GAINED A DISTINCT ADVANTAGE IN THAT KEY BODY, HE SAID.

4. SINO-SOVIET TRADE. ROGACHEV SAID HE HAD HEARD INDIRECTLY THAT THE CHINESE EMBASSY HERE HAS BEEN TELLING ITS VARIOUS CONTACTS THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON WAS WEAK AND THAT THE PRC WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS. OBVIOUSLY, THE CHINESE WOULD PREFER THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BE STRONG AND ANTI-SOVIET, ROGACHEV COMMENTED. ROGACHEV NOTED THE DOWNWARD TREND IN U.S.-PRC TRADE IN THE PAST TWO YEARS AND SAID THAT THE CHINESE HAVE COMPLAINED TO OTHERS ABOUT THE HEAVY IMBALANCE IN THE U.S. FAVOR, AND HAVE SAID THAT, OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, THEY WOULD PREFER TO PURCHASE FROM NON-U.S. SUPPLIERS. (ROGACHEV STRESSED THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD THIS DIRECTLY FROM THE CHINESE, BUT FROM THIRD COUNTRY SOURCES.) ON SOVIET-PRC TRADE, THE ANNUAL AGREEMENT WOULD BE SIGNED "SOON," SAID ROGACHEV. IT IS NOW IN THE FINAL STAGES AFTER MORE THAN TWO MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE LEVEL OF TRADE, HE SAID, WOULD BE ABOUT THE SAME AS IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, MAYBE HIGHER BY TEN TO FIFTEEN MILLION RUBLES.

5. THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER TALKS. CONCERNING DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IL'ICHEV'S RECENT RETURN FROM PEKING, ROGACHEV SAID THAT THERE WAS NOTHING NEW OF SUBSTANCE IN THE LATEST ROUND OF BORDER TALKS. BOTH SIDES, HE SAID, USED THE SAME OLD ARGUMENTS. THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD JUST AS WELL BE HANDLED BY COMPUTERS. HE NOTED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CHINESE HAD NEGOTIATED WITH THE AMERICANS FOR SIXTEEN YEARS AND THAT THE SINO-SOVIET TALKS HAVE GONE ON FOR ONLY SIX YEARS. SO MOSCOW IS PREPARED TO BE PATIENT.

6. SINO-JAPANESE TREATY. ON THE DISPUTE REGARDING THE JAPAN-PRC PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, ROGACHEV EMPHASIZED THAT THE "HEGEMONY" LANGUAGE COULD EASILY BE APPLIED TO BOTH SUPERPOWERS, EVEN THOUGH MOSCOW IS THE TARGET NOW. HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE CHINESE WOULD NOT COMPROMISE ON THE "HEGEMONY" LANGUAGE AND THAT THE TREATY WOULD BE SIGNED BUT NOT IMMEDIATELY. PEKING HAD PROPOSED AN ULTIMATUM TO THE JAPANESE, SAID ROGACHEV: EITHER REAFFIRM THE LANGUAGE OF THE 1972 STATEMENT, OR GET NO TREATY. HE CHARACTERIZED THIS ALL OR NOTHING APPROACH (TO OUR SURPRISE) AS "TROTSKIYISM."

7. SOUTHEAST ASIA. ROGACHEV SAID THAT PEKING IS ANXIOUS ABOUT HANOI. THE VIETNAMESE ARE NOW UNITED AND STRONG AND THEIR WHOLE HISTORY IS ANTI-CHINESE. HE DID NOT SPECIFY ANY CURRENT AREAS OF TENSION, BUT SAID THAT THE CONCERN ON THE PART OF PEKING WAS NOW VERY EVIDENT. ON CAMBODIA, HE SAID THAT THERE WAS STILL NO CERTAINTY WHO WAS IN CHARGE. THE NAME OF KHIEU SAMPHAN HAD BEEN MENTIONED, BUT SO HAD OTHERS AND KHIEU SAMPHAN WAS NOT EVEN A MEMBER OF THE POLITBORO. BY COMPARISON, SOUTH VIETNAM IS MORE ORDERLY AND MORE DISCIPLINED, ROGACHEV SAID SOMEWHAT WISTFULLY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESIDENT, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, VISITS, DIPLOMATIC PROTOCOL
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW07396
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750188-0809
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975059/aaaaaibd.tel
Line Count: 182
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <20 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET VIEWS ON ASIA CINCPAC FOR POLAD
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, KN, US, XB, (KIM IL-SONG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006